EXCLUSIVE

Anna Louise Strong: 'How it feels to be cleared of charges'

The Soviet government announced on Friday, March 4, that Anna Louise Strong, American journalist and author, had been absolved of espionage charges made against her in 1949. The charges caused Miss Strong to be deported from Moscow. The announcement said an investigation had proved the accusations groundless; it blamed the false arrest on Lavrenti P. Beria, Soviet Minister of the Interior, who was executed in 1953 for treason. The Soviet government is in the process of reviewing the cases of many persons arrested under Beria's state security administration; several have already been released and rehabilitated. The action followed by only a few months the release of Noel and Herman Field by the governments of Hungary and Poland, also with the announcement that they had been imprisoned on false charges. Both had been arrested in 1949. The GUARDIAN asked Miss Strong to tell us how she felt on getting the news. Her story follows:

By Anna Louise Strong

LOS ANGELES

WHEN THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN phoned congratulations from New York in the afternoon of March 4 it was easy to promise an article by the following day. But then the avalanche descended—phone calls, newspaper interviews, television appointments, climaxed by an invitation to star on the 20th Century-Fox Newsreel.

That night I went to Edgar Snow's lecture at the Unitarian Forum (Stephen Fritchman's church to which I have belonged for these six years) and a few hundred members—rightly taking the news from Moscow as their own victory—shook my hand almost off at the wrist.

If Steve Fritchman's church was the one progressive organization in the past six years that welcomed me to membership, so Cedric Belfrage was the only friend who met me that cold night at LaGuardia Airport when I came back from the Moscow deportation to be met by 100 New York reporters and a flock of Federal government agents threatening my citizenship. Cedric drove me to a New York home for needed sleep, safe from both private and official snoopers, and he and the GUARDIAN were the only channel willing to publish that my faith and my views of the world were still unchanged. In the difficult years that followed, isolated from 95% of those I had loved as friends, it was the GUARDIAN that gave me, whenever it could, a helping word. So its faith wins out with mine.

A MONGOLIAN GIRL: But that faith is the faith of thousands, of millions, all over the world who had heard me speak or read my words and who, when the U.S.S.R. charged me with espionage, felt disoriented. All these people today must be more at peace. For if in these rejoicing hours any thought has been in me continuous, it is that whenever an injustice is done anywhere, there is dislocation in the whole world balance; and whenever an injustice is righted, there is a clearing, all over the world.

One thing that hurt in these years was the memory of a Mongolian girl—slim, flaming with teen-age enthusiasm—who rushed up to me at the Women's Conference in Budapest (two months before my arrest) and em-

(Continued on Page 4)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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"Uncle Sam's little darling"

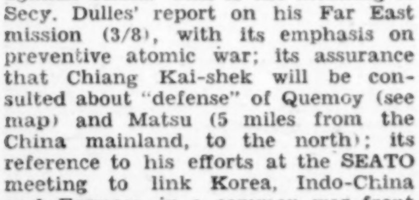
A fat little German soldier is being tenderly looked after by Uncle Sam and France's Marianne in this spring carnival float in Duesseldorf, W. Germany. In the background Britain's Eden benevolently observes the scene. Despite the U.S. press blackout it is apparent that most Germans would like to take little Hans' boots off and put his play-pants on again. New Yorkers will have a chance to express themselves at the American Labor Party's "Save the Peace" rally at Manhattan Center, March 18. German rearmament will be a main theme.

SPEAK OUT, AMERICA

Dulles' atomic blackmail

WASHINGTON IS MAKING a desperate, new effort to halt the retreat forced upon it in the Far East by again threatening atomic war against China. This is the meaning of Secy. Dulles' report on his Far East mission (3/8), with its emphasis on preventive atomic war; its assurance that Chiang Kai-shek will be consulted about "defense" of Quemoy (see map) and Matsu (5 miles from the China mainland, to the north); its reference to his efforts at the SEATO meeting to link Korea, Indo-China and Formosa in a common war front against China.

Dulles' atomic blackmail was backed by earlier moves: 1) to threaten the Korean armistice by junking the Armistice Commission and charging an alleged "N. Korean buildup . . . [to] a danger point" (Adm. Radford, 3/5); 2) to violate the Indo-China armistice by bringing Laos and Cambodia under U.S. "deterrent" protection; 3) to set up a Joint Command on Formosa; and 4) to get allied backing at SEATO for U.S. seizure of Formosa.



China will not succumb. Three times in the past year (Dienbienphu, eve of the Geneva Conference, last September's threat over Quemoy and Matsu) similar blackmail has been tried and failed. Each time peace hung by a thread. Washington had to retreat.

DESPERATE AND ALONE: Today Washington is that much the more desperate. Its recent moves put the U.S. in a position where it faces but two choices: devastating loss of face, or war in which it will have the support only of Chiang Kai-shek.

(As Dulles made his report, Burma's Premier U Nu — whom Dulles wooed with warm praise — said flatly that Burma would never join SEATO and that in his view "Communist China has no aggressive intentions. . . . They have a very great fear that somebody has aggressive intentions toward them and might use Formosa as a

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CASE OF THE STUBBORN EDITOR

Belfrage lawyers riddle govt.'s case at appeal

THE Case of the Stubborn Editor—the GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage, whom the government seeks to deport on the ground that he was a Communist in 1937-38—churned on through another stage on Mar. 9 in Washington. Latest episode was an appeal by Belfrage's attorneys to the Board of Immigration Appeals from a finding of deportability last November by Special Inquiry Officer Aaron Maltin in New York.

Earlier episodes, in 1953, were Velde and McCarthy witch-hunt sessions and a series of court skirmishes in which the Justice Dept.'s Immigration Service fought vainly to hold Belfrage without bail as an imminent danger to the Republic.

Belfrage himself, for nearly two years under $5,000 court bond confining him to the New York area, is not permitted to visit Washington where his appeal was heard. His attorneys—Blanch Freedman, Gloria Agrin and Nathan Dambroff—were given two hours to argue for the case to be thrown out. They appeared with a 76-page brief which began:

"This proceeding is a part of the unhappy backwash of that time in the all-too-recent past when a U.S. Senator named Joseph R. McCarthy and his boy Friday, Roy M. Cohn, were at the floodtide of their usurped power. . . ."

SEVEN-YEAR ITCH: The brief went on to point out that all the information produced at the Maltin hearing had apparently been available since

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Fight conscription

MEMPHIS, TENN.

A bill to extend the draft for four years has been passed by the House. The terms of this measure have not been made public, so we do not know if UMT proposals have been included (though that is unlikely). If every GUARDIAN reader would write a letter to his Senator opposing the peacetime draft, and persuade at least one friend to do likewise, the chances of preventing the extension of the law would increase greatly. The National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C., is the only national group specifically fighting the draft. If you write there they will aid you in setting up local groups to pursue this aim.

Militarism was essential to Hitler in his ascension to power. Let us deprive an American Hitler of this vital step towards fascism.

A Progressive

Ashes to ashes?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A "Back to God" drive is urged by Ike on the nation. Does he mean via the 7th Fleet, H-bomb and annihilation? **Lawrence Gellert**

The fall-out

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

I feel so much better since Washington announced that its latest H-bomb will "pollute with lethal radioctive fall-out" an area almost as large as New Jersey, while on the same day Secy. Wilson reassured us that we are "out ahead" of the Russians.

Presumably all the Russians have is a piddling little bomb that will be lethal in an area the size of Connecticut. Isn't it true that all we have to fear is fear itself?

Pollyanna II

The Belfrage fight

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The case of Cedric Belfrage, another fight against the Walter-McCarran Act, can be the starting point of an important crusade. Large sections of the American people, plus those of other countries, have long since voiced outright opposition to this hate-ridden legislation. We must reach these people, not yet sufficiently aware as to how this hateful law was deliberately used against Cedric Belfrage, in a calculated attempt to weaken or silence the GUARDIAN.

This is a "freedom of the press" case which strikes at the people's freedoms, despite the wall of silence from the big press. In order to fight effectively for Belfrage's right to remain in the U.S., his case must be made the spearhead on the part of the GUARDIAN and its readers while advancing the fight against this legislation and bringing his case to the people.

Let's have more of that brilliant, fighting GUARDIAN spirit to give people the voice and militancy the nation over to help win the fight.

E. L.

A fortunate lack

SPOKANE, WASH.

Who takes so-called civil defense seriously? Not the public, not the mayors, not the state governors and not Congress. Some politicians with nothing better to do are shedding tears over this "apathy" toward national security and they will demand more liberal appropriations by the next Congress to stimulate public and official interest in the question. Artificial panics have been tried and have failed to alarm the average citizen.

Common sense is responsible for the "apathy" deplored by the headline-hunters and patrioteers. T[illegible] old stratagems will have to [illegible]ced by new inventions and [illegible]ions, and this will not be easy. The warmakers lack brains—a fortunate circumstance for the tax-payers and skeptics. **L. Ponton**

How crazy can you get dept.

There is an economic side to auto accidents. It's so big that if Americans ever stop smashing their cars into each other, a large adjustment in the economy would be necessary. . . . Accidents provide employment for tens of thousands. If Americans suddenly started to drive carefully and sanely, it might become difficult to find new jobs for all those displaced.

—Worcester (Mass.) Daily Telegram, Mar. 2.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: J. Sumner, Worcester.

Lets keep celebrating

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

A little late, but we hope welcome—$70 from our annual New Year's Eve celebration.

Your Springfield Angels

Witness this act

SMITHTOWN, N. Y.

Marvel not that I send $50 for the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund and thereby continue a habit of late payments to the bank that owns my car. I would offer my life to stop this madness we call cold war.

Al Rotondi
(Christian Witness to those who will listen.)

Dethrone the banks

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

Article 5 in the Constitution reads that "Congress shall coin money and regulate the value thereof." That, in the face of our government borrowing money from the banks and paying them interest on it, too, is highly illuminating. Have the people lost their brains or did they ever have any? Courage to do the right is all that is required to dethrone the banks and put the money into the hands of Congress where it belongs. That is their responsibility. Money is needed for comfort but never power. **George Simpson**

Benson and Kraft

WASHINGTON, KANS.

Fearing perhaps that the ever-widening spread between what farmers have to sell and what they must buy is developing into a political boomerang, Secy. of Agriculture Benson has changed his tune. When speaking for the flexible farm support law, he lost no chance to bemoan the fact that consumers were paying too much for their food, and repeatedly inferred that lower farm prices would be reflected in lower food prices at the retail markets. Now that agricultural income has been cut several billions as a result of flexible supports, and food prices remain at the peak, Benson on several occasions recently has called attention to this fact—forgetting, of course, to say it belies the statements he made a year ago. He offers no plan or suggestion as to how it can be done.

Disclosure that Kraft Foods have made the greatest profit in their history in 1954 indicates clearly the result of low farm prices and high retail values. With the chief source of their raw material (dairy products) pegged at 75% parity, and no controls on what they can ask for their finished product, Kraft has struck a bonanza.

Among others of the great industrial concerns Kraft is a prominent donor of awards for achievement in 4-H club work, national organization of farm youth. The boys and girls who win these awards are given a trip to the National 4-H Congress in Chicago. Here they are put up at one of the city's leading hotels and during their stay are royally entertained by Kraft, Standard Oil, U.P. Railroad, Sears Roebuck, etc. Those who directly represent their multi-millionaire hosts, as well as the obedient, hat-in-hand servants of these interests, the personnel of the agricultural extension service, do not allow these youngsters to forget that those who made their wonderful time possible are the country's "most generous, most public spirited" citizens.

It might be disastrous indeed for Mr. Benson's policies, as well as for the Cadillac administration of which he is a part, if the hard working Dads of the 4-H'ers, who are getting 25% less than a fair price for their product, should wake up to the fact that it is they instead of Kraft who are digging up the money for the awards.

Ernest B. Benne

We move with time

ASHLAND, ORE.

"Time moves on and takes us with it." This, to me, is the essence of the progressive attitude. I hope to see more united effort from humanists, socialists and all Progressives for Belfrage's defense.

A. M. Hamilton

Wall Street Journal

"Mr. Wumbel, sir, I've landed a much better job with another firm, fatty."

The record was played

EUGENE, ORE.

A week's debate in the local newspaper as to whether or not radio station KRGA should or should not play the "McCarthy" record, "The Investigator," ended with it being played with a preliminary statement by the American Legion's subversive activities committee chairman, Wm. Browne. Browne insisted that listeners must be told the record was the work of "a member of the Communist Party" (Reuben Ship) and that part of the proceeds from record sales would be given by Ship to the CP.

KRGA manager Glen Stadler said he would not play the record if it could be proved that money from its sale would go to the CP, but he didn't think this had been proved. I feel the result is encouraging for these times. Stadler put the Legionnaires on the spot and left the conclusions where they belong—up to the people.

E. L.

Desegregation in Baltimore

BALTIMORE, MD.

Eisenhower, Brownell et al forced the Supreme Court to abolish segregation not out of love for the Negro but to bribe the Negro to vote for universal military training and immediate war with China and Russia, and this the people know. The Negro is no more anxious to see Baltimore H-bombed than the white people, and so Eisenhower is losing interest in desegregation, which has made little or no progress in Baltimore.

The Catholic schools stand higher than the public schools socially and the priests never admitted more than a tiny token number of colored children. Great St. Michael's admitted just two Negroes. Every morning I see the children, 1,000 or more, go into St. Michael's, but I never see a dark face. The two colored children must have been frozen out.

I asked a lady: "How many colored children attend the Little Flower school?" She answered: "Not one, and we don't intend to admit any." Mulitudes of children have been withdrawn from the public schools and sent to the Catholic schools. The public school authorities are getting alarmed by the silent resistance and are doing all they can to evade the law. Race relations are worse than ever.

Lewis Bayard Robinson

The batture dwellers

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Sixty batture families were evicted here last July from their picturesque homes on the Mississippi River, whose floods their colony on pilings had survived for 30 years. The Orleans Levee Board, on pretext of levee repair, bulldozed and burned the homes, many with belongings inside. No compensation. Few could use such housing project offers as were made (none was available for Negroes, the Housing Authority announced).

Batture evictees include: lifelong unionists disabled on the job; veterans of world wars; many children. Now, six months later, they are reorganized (helped by a few non-batture aides). A speakers' team of elderly workers, white and Negro, contacted local unions, AFL, CIO, RR, and raised over $700 to open suit for compensation as authorized by act of the Louisiana Legislature. All work is done by volunteers at their own expense; few of us are trained, some of us can just barely read and write. All this takes determination.

The legal case is in the hands of Benjamin E. Smith, native of Louisiana and Natl. Lawyers Guild member, engaged by our Assn. Main difficulty was finding precedent for compensation to batture evictees, constantly reminded by courts that "they have no legal rights." Mr. Smith has found a precedent.

The case is felt to have importance beyond its legal aspects. Workmen's families and veterans do "have rights," on or off battures. Battles for housing rights, cooperation by unions, at door-step level—that's how a new U.S., so badly needed, can be won.

Some encouraging and interested letters to the batture dwellers from other localities would have a great moral effect here, and could help us win.

Walter Rogers, chairman
Batture Dwellers Assn.
Box 1294, New Orleans 10, La.

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Vol. 7, No. 21 178 MARCH 14, 1955

REPORT TO READERS

A meeting and a record for FDR and the UN

A DOUBLE DECENNIAL occurs next month, and the GUARDIAN has plans for both which we think will gratify you. April 12 is the tenth anniversary of President Roosevelt's death—and of his last great message for world peace and understanding, which he wrote for the national Jefferson Day gatherings the week-end of his death. April 25 is the tenth anniversary of the United Nations' opening conference in San Francisco.

To commemorate both together, the GUARDIAN will sponsor a large public meeting in New York on April 20 at the City Center Casino, and our principal speaker will be—VINCENT HALLINAN!

The fighting lawyer for Harry Bridges and Progressive Party Presidential candidate in 1952—whose great endeavors in both instances were followed by jail sentences—will make his first appearance in the East since 1952 under GUARDIAN auspices; and we know the City Center will be bulging with well-wishers on the evening of our Decennial get-together.

There will be other vital speakers to re-assert the great purposes of the Roosevelt Era and the United Nations, of which FDR was the chief architect; and there will be an enriching musical program as well. More about this next week. Meanwhile, mark the date down—Wednesday evening, April 20—and plan to come if you're within hailing distance.

AND FOR EVERYBODY, regardless of where you may be, we have a team of top writers working on a commemorative LP record of the Roosevelt Era. It will combine FDR's great messages to Americans and our cousins around the world with the sassy people's music of the period. It will be a dramatic re-living of the times, the memory and meaning of which the past decade's propagandists have ceaselessly sought to blot out.

The writers, artists and musicians on this job are people whose devotion to the ideals of the Roosevelt Era and the UN Charter are undimmed. It will be a unique and often-replayed favorite in your record library; and it should be just the ticket for a gathering of your friends or a larger public function in conjunction with April's two historic Decennials.

It will run 40 minutes (two LP sides); the price will be $3 postpaid; and it will be ready for mailing by April 1. Your order NOW will be appreciated; the number of records we press will be largely determined by your show of interest. Address: RECORD, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y. **—THE EDITORS**

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RECANTING WITNESSES FACE JAIL FOR "LYING" IN ADMITTING LIES

Frantic Justice Dept. defends policy of using liars

THE principle of lying for pay in matters of "security" was vigorously defended at highest government levels last week. Confessed liars like Harvey Matusow and Mrs. Marie Natvig might be punished, but the punishment would be not for lying, but for admitting the lies.

Clearest statement of this official government position in defense of its system of paying for perjury came from Asst. Atty. Gen. William F. Tompkins, chief of the Justice Dept.'s Internal Security Division. He said:

> "It is becoming increasingly clear that the current attack against government witnesses and informants of the FBI has its roots in a Communist effort to stem the successful campaign of this government to eliminate the subversion threat of communism to our internal security. It has as its objective the hamstringing of the FBI's informant system. . . ."

This seemed a neat way out of the government's embarrassment at its recanting witnesses: any person now challenging the informer system might himself face prosecution as a "subversive agent." Tompkins made his declaration before a Senate committee beginning an investigation of the government's whole "security program."

SCRAMBLED PERJURY: Tompkins' stand in behalf of bought testimony was pointed up by a grand jury's nine-count perjury indictment of Mrs. Natvig for perjury. She had been a government witness in a Federal Communications Commission effort to deny a TV license to publisher-broadcaster Edward O. Lamb, on the ground that he once associated with Communists and gave them money. She later recanted, swore she had been "coerced" and "brainwashed" by government lawyers to give false evidence, and said:

> "Only an idiot would have put any credence in anything I said."

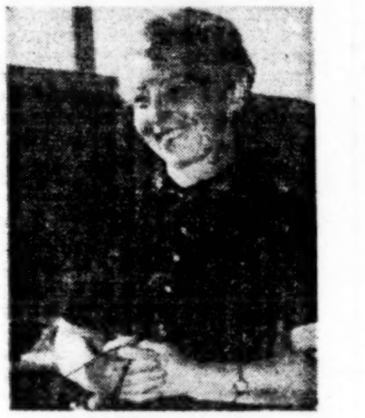
The indictment against her—carrying a possible 45-year prison term—charges her not with lying against Lamb but with lying when she swore she lied. She was not called to appear before the grand jury that returned the indictment. No action has yet been taken against Lowell Watson, another government witness in the same case who has since sworn he was led into lying.

THE IMPORTANT THING: A similar approach in the defense of the informer system was taken by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which has been grilling Harvey Matusow and the publishers of his book of confessions, Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn. Robert G. Spivack wrote from Washington to the N. Y. **Post** (3/8):

> "The . . . subcommittee's investigation of Matusow is principally aimed at determining if he's being 'used' by the Communist Party. It's more important to decide this than to determine when or where he lied when he was a government witness, two Southern Democrats said today."

The two: subcommittee chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Price Daniel (D-Ariz.).

"FALSE . . . FALSE . . .": Matusow himself was in El Paso, Tex., last week where he swore in a U. S. District Court that evidence he gave against Clinton



MILDRED NATVIG
The law stands on its head

Jencks a year ago was false. Jencks, an official of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union (Ind.), was convicted

(Continued on Page 9)

LABOR

Joint convention in fall for CIO-AFL merger

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN the CIO executive board on Feb. 24 "proudly ratified" the agreement to merge with the AFL, the next move was to work out details of where and when the unification would take place. By last week indications were that both organizations might forego their presently-scheduled regular conventions in favor of ratification conventions in the same city at the same time, to be followed immediately by a joint convention to put the merger into effect.

AFL now plans a ten-day convention beginning Sept. 15 in Chicago; CIO, a five-day one in Buffalo beginning Oct. 17. Rumors are that both might hold two-day conventions in October or November, possibly in New York City, followed by a week's joint convention.

QUILL WANTS GUARANTEES: The CIO exec. board's ratification was not unanimous: pres. Michael Quill and secy.-treas. Gustav Faber of the Transport Workers Union voted against the merger. At an earlier convention of his own union Quill demanded stronger guarantees respecting each union's autonomy, elimination of racketeering and corruption, prohibition of discrimination, preservation of the industrial form of organization, and creation of effective machinery to end raiding. He also insisted on greater political independence of the trade union movement even to the point of forming a labor party. His denunciation of the CIO's tendency to be a tail to the Democratic Party kite drew a brusque rebuke from CIO pres. Walter Reuther, who told newsmen the new federation would continue to work "through the established political parties."

But on his other points Quill put the leaders of both CIO and AFL on the defensive. The CIO board described the agreement as "a sound, honorable, principled and effective basis for the merger" and sought to answer Quill point by point:

> "We deem it important to note that the merger agreement recognizes and underwrites the integrity of each affiliated union; that it provides equal status for industrial unionism; that it provides for constitutional guarantees and for internal machinery to insure the elimination of such evils as raiding, racial discrimination, communist or other totalitarian infiltration, racketeering or other corrupting influences."

DEMOGOGY & UMBRELLAS: Both AFL pres. George Meany and CIO counsel Arthur J. Goldberg appeared at an Atlantic City conference of the Jewish Labor Committee to protest Quill's charge that the merger agreement was not strong enough on the anti-discrimination issue. Neither named names, but Goldberg said:

> "I am aware of some demagogic attacks upon this unity agreement—attacks which question the good faith of the CIO, attacks which specifically mention the subject of civil rights and pretend that the labor movement will retreat in this field because of the merger."

While top leaders were sensitive to criticism of many items in the merger agreement, they were secure against any charge that they were being soft on "communism." CIO secy.-treas. James B. Carey told newsmen in Louisville, Ky., that the merger will "put an end to communist unions in America." The **Courier-Journal** reported:

> "Carey explained that the money and effort that the AFL and CIO have expended against each other could be used against 'the communist unions.'"

On Feb. 15 Goldberg sent an official notice to all CIO affiliates warning of a Communist Party "program" of "infiltrating its remaining organizations into the AFL and the CIO in order to avoid the provisions of the Communist Control Act." Earlier Meany had declared that the AFL was not

> ". . . going to provide an umbrella for the commies to come in under until the rain stops. . . . We're certainly not providing a haven for reds kicked out of the CIO."

PUBLICANS & SINNERS: Still under fire was the AFL's big Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen which on Feb. 22 completed its merger with the Fur & Leather Workers (expelled from the CIO in 1949). Meany had disapproved the merger and threatened the Meat Cutters with expulsion when he said:

> ". . . The other unions which make up the AFL enjoy equal freedom of association and can if they wish break off this association with a union that chooses to conduct its affairs in contradiction of AFL policy."

Last week Meat Cutters pres. Earl W. Jimerson and secy.-treas. Patrick E. Gorman published a letter to the membership in the union's official journal, in which they protested their long anti-communist records and argued:

> "Assuming it is true that the Fur & Leather Workers Union was a Communist-dominated union, the Federation should applaud and encourage the Amalgamated's program under which the continuation of such Communist domination in the enlarged organization is rendered utterly impossible."

FREEDOM ROAD: The letter said that under the merger terms "there cannot possibly be any future Communist leadership or influence." It concluded with a declaration that the Amalgamated has "no intention of withdrawing from the AFL" and "on the other hand, we do not believe that our International Union will be suspended from the AFL because we have violated not one single law of the AFL."

An AFL-CIO agreement to work together in a coming meeting of the Intl. Confdn. of Free Trade Unions in Vienna prompted the N.Y. **Times** to write:

> "It is a heartening reaffirmation of the determination of American workers to work with free unions overseas to block Communist imperialism. . . . Neutralism has a strong grip on the free unions in many countries of Europe and Asia. The West German unions have been spearheading resistance to German rearmament."

BROTHERHOODS LURED: During the week two CIO unions—the oil workers and the chemical workers—meeting in a joint convention in Cleveland voted to merge with a total of 220,000 members. They adopted the name Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers of America and pledged a vigorous organizing drive which may eventually boost the membership to more than a million.

There were also signs that, once the AFL-CIO merger was complete, the big independent railroad brotherhoods might come in. All of them spoke approvingly of the unity move; typical was the comment of Railroad Trainmen pres. W. P. Kennedy:

> "It has been indicated that the independent railway labor organizations such as ours will be invited to join the new federation. Of course, there are problems to be worked out in this connection, but I think such a proposal might be looked upon most favorably by the officers and rank and file of the BRT. The giant economic and political concentrations in America today demand a united labor movement to protect the rights of all who toil."

Meanwhile in the ranks of industry and in government there were mutterings about the danger of a "labor monopoly" and demands were being raised for new governmental curbs and restraints against labor.

"Now that we have you doing three men's work, you realize, of course, how serious it is when you're late!"

Labor's Daily, Charleston, W. Va.

"I was gonna organize the school kids and strike, but my parent union would not sanction it!"

The six-year vigil of a woman who refused o lose faith

By James Aronson

AT 9 P.M. on Feb 14, 1949, Anna Louise Strong, accredited as a correspondent for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN and Allied Labor News, was taken from her Moscow hotel room, held for five days of questioning by the Soviet Security police. She was never told what the charges against her were; Tass, official Soviet news agency, in reporting her arrest, described her as a "well-known intelligence agent."

MISS STRONG

In fact Miss Strong had a lifetime record of reporting, speaking, writing and traveling to help explain socialism to the world.

She was escorted to the Polish border, taken to Warsaw, put aboard a plane to Paris and then took another plane to New York. At LaGuardia a wolf-pack of reporters descended on her, hoping for an attack on the Soviet Union. She met then head-on. She spoke of the atmosphere of hysteria which had been created around the world, accused the American press of chief responsibility for creating it. She said:

"Do not use me to inflame international friction. News today is like an atom bomb. It can explode and destroy worlds. More than your lives or mine . . . more than justice or injustice to any individual is the question of war or peace."

A FRIEND WAS THERE: At the airport was one friendly person—Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor. He managed to get her away from the wolf-pack to a hideaway in New York and to a lawyer. Miss Strong was summoned before the grand jury, questioned intensively by the FBI. More dead than alive from her ordeal, she went to Connecticut where she lay ill for weeks in the home of a doctor friend. Besieged by offers to "tell her story" she finally accepted a bid from the syndicate of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, a paper she recalled as having a fair foreign news service. Her five articles, frank as they were, were not to be tampered with, she stipulated. The Herald Tribune violated the agreement.

Of the money she received for the series, $1,000 was given to the Civil Rights Congress for the defense of the Trenton Six, a case which was prominent at the time; $1,000 to the lawyer; the rest was used to put her back on her feet after her illness.

GIVE IT A CHANCE: In the March 28, 1949, issue of the GUARDIAN Miss Strong told her inmost feelings. She said:

"You ask first: what do I think now of the U. S. S. R.? I think the U. S. S. R. still carries the great hope of mankind. I say 'carries,' not 'Is.' I mean as a mother carries a child toward birth. . . . If we hold the peace awhile, then we can take a real look at this 'communism' when the Russians have built it and see how much of it we like. But we must give them their chance at it; that's good for all of us."

In the same issue the GUARDIAN said editorially:

"Until full and particularized charges are made against Miss Strong, and until she has the opportunity to reply to them, fairness demands that judgment on the question of guilt or innocence be withheld by all. Whatever Miss Strong writes or says must be judged by its content and its effect . . . on the fight for peace, which depends for its success almost entirely on the strength and solidity of the progressive movement of America."

SHE KEPT HER FAITH: The charges were never made public. Miss Strong retired to California where she lived in semi-seclusion, publishing a newsletter called Today, lecturing occasionally, refusing any offer to turn on the U. S. S. R. or socialism.

Only in personal letters to a few friends did she reveal the internal ravages of the shock she suffered. That she held firm to her conviction and her faith through the years as she approached her 70th birthday is in itself the greatest tribute to her quality. She never lost hope that March 4, 1955, would come.

The Strong story

(Continued from Page 1)

braced me, saying: "O, Shih Te-long" (using my Chinese name) "I have read your book on Poland; it is in my language. And they say you were in my country too." How that embrace warmed me! It seemed a flame of human love passing down the generations and across the world.

Even in jail in Moscow I thought of that Mongolian girl. I knew she must have wondered: "Have I kissed a spy, a traitor?" For six years there was no way to reach her, to say: "Keep on. Don't be afraid!"

When on March 4 the news came from Moscow—delivered first to me (Oh irony!) by the Hearst press and followed by the long-distance GUARDIAN salute—I thought of that girl. And I knew she knew that it was all right for her to have embraced me.

WHO DUN IT? So I am not greatly concerned by the questions the reporters pose me: "Are you satisfied it was Beria who did it? Why do you think the Soviet Union clears you now?" What Beria did—and whether directly or through subordinates—is in the files in Moscow; I do not much care whether they ever show those files to me.

I say: "I suppose the reason they clear me now is that, after Beria's removal, they began reviewing all the people he condemned, and have now got around to me." This seems to me adequate. But if any reporter insists:

AS MISS STRONG ARRIVED IN NEW YORK IN 1949
A detail of cops flanked her into the airport lobby

"Oh, come, they must have had a deeper reason," I answer: "Of course they had, for I learned in college philosophy that the total cause for anything that happens is the sum total of the whole world as it was before." So the total cause of this clearance must be found also in the world situation, in the GUARDIAN and in me.

But one might suggest to Eisenhower that the Moscow "line" of reviewing past condemnations is a good idea for any nation to try at least once in six years. I could think of many good people who might be released to their proper relation to reality if some fresh mind could review the past cases of Atty. Gen. Brownell.

SOME BARRIERS: I am not greatly concerned as yet with the other question they ask me: 'Are you going back to Moscow? When?" I have always believed that, if I lived long enough, I should again see Moscow, and Peking. But am not ignorant of the present barriers to such travel. In 1949 I had a passport good for all countries. These are not easy to be got today.

So I have no present plan of travel.

But I have a long-range confidence that one day I shall arrive, that in actual fact I have arrived already. Physical barriers are really trifling compared to those greater barriers in the spirit.

This was the wire I sent that Friday night to the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, which sums up my view:

"Please convey to your government my profound thanks for its action today in clearing my reputation. I always believed that this would happen some day. I am very happy to see one more channel to friendly understanding reopened in our disturbed world."

Corporations in clover

While Congress was having a hard time deciding whether to cut income taxes $20—benefiting mainly the poor—headlines in the Wall St. Journal tell how last year's tax cuts to corporations are boosting their profits. Here are some tax figures from company reports:

	1953 taxes	1954 taxes	% cut
General Electric	$ 308,500,000	$178,000,000	42
General Motors	$1,054,528,446	$838,985,469	20
Goodyear Tire	$ 68 449,753	$ 43,372,000	36

AN EDITOR'S BRAVE FIGHT

How they closed the door on Gore for his fight to recall McCarthy

LEROY GORE, Wisconsin editor who led an unsuccessful movement to recall Sen. Joseph McCarthy in his home state, has sold his weekly paper, the Sauk-Prairie Star. The reason: the "impossible situation" created when a lame-duck McCarthyite district attorney, Harlan W. Kelley, began prosecution of Gore's Joe Must Go Club on a trumped-up technicality. The paper was taken over Mar. 1 by Elmer Anderson of Crosby, Minn., who has published other weeklies in Wisconsin.

Late last year Kelley charged that the club had violated state laws because as a corporation it had engaged in political activity (GUARDIAN, 1/31). The court decision finding it guilty and fining the group $4,200 is being appealed to the State Supreme Court. Gore said legal costs may exceed $20,000.

He pointed out in his closing statement that 48 corporations in the state, including Republican and Democratic groups, the For America Club, and a group sponsoring a fund-raising dinner for McCarthy in Milwaukee in 1952 and a more recent appearance of Roy Cohn, had engaged in "political activity" but were not being prosecuted.

"NEXT TIME YOU": Because of the combination of newspaper and legal pressures, Gore said, his 10-year-old daughter, who has a heart condition developed during the affair, has had to live away from the family. He feared that if both continued, "the separation would continue another year or more." He will still live in Sauk City and eventually hopes to go back to newspapering, his occupation for 30 years.

Gore said the "Door for Gore Club" set up by a handful of local McCarthy supporters to counter the recall "has driven a small but tough wedge of personal hatred into the community." His statement added:

"The important thing is not what may happen to the individuals involved in this complex and bewildering situation, but what may become of human rights and political initiative in Wisconsin and the nation. Whatever their views of McCarthyism, the public must know that this was probably the most honest, the most spontaneous movement by the small people in all Wisconsin history.

"If the recall accomplished nothing else, it was at least an important factor in nullifying the fears and the hysteria which mccarthyism generated. Today, few in Wisconsin fear mccarthyism. But . . . fear that the law designed to protect against the guilty may strike with equal force against the innocent is more than an academic possibility. . . The next time it may happen to you."

Commenting on a letter to him in which Gore describes himself as "a little guy who tried to do a job bigger than he was," N. Y. Post columnist Barry Gray writes:

"It is not Gore who lost. We have lost and shamefully. Gore stands, a bankrupt monument to those who applaud from under the bed."

LEROY GORE
". . . the public must know. . . ."

BOOKS

Of Lippmann's men 'of light and leading'

By John B. Stone

WALTER LIPPMANN has jumbled carefully selected pinches of philosophy from Socrates to Sartre into 181 pages and produced a "public philosophy" which he hopes may save the U.S. and other "western democracies" from devastation.

The quotations are irrelevant to the question in point and are blandly mixed up with Tory and Whig, Nihilist and Communist, indiscriminately thrown into one caldron. Thus their contributions are meaningless in proving Lippmann's point.

The author gives himself no facts to bolster his primary assumption that Jacobinism* is the villain of modern times. Consequently, the "findings" of Lippmann's new book, **The Public Philosophy**, emerge as simply the prejudices of Lippmann.

THE YEAR 1917: But amazing as they are in damnation of what many Americans believe are the fundamental principles of democracy, the Lippmann

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"That bin is full of faith, optimism, hope, trust, buoyancy. This one is despair, pessimism, dejection, cynicism, dashed hope."

pronouncements have tremendous weight because: (1) the author's much-read newspaper columns addressed to specific current problems so often make sense, and (2) because the book obviously is being ballyhooed as the solution not only of the problems of democracy, but also of the problems of literate men who want to continue to consider themselves democrats and still be comfortable and safe.

Lippmann finds that the democracies underwent a "revolutionary year" in 1917. The executive branch had to give up power it had held in order to please the masses of voters and appease the legislative assemblies. As a result, he says, "the democracies became incapacitated to wage war for rational ends and to make a peace which would be observed or which could be defended."

ENTER MYSTICISM: This weakness, Lippmann asserts, has persisted, and all the grave perils which beset democracy are the result of it. The cause for the downfall of the executive was Jacobinism, the idea that the people are right. Lippmann thinks "democracy" must be protected from the people so he comes up with a mystical public philosophy without a trace of Jacobinism. It is an aristocracy of men of "light and leading." It is to be sold to the people, Lippmann says, through a religious mysticism like that which caused the Israelites to accept the ten commandments as the word of God—though men of "light and leading" knew they were the work of Moses.

This "public philosophy" must be maintained by a strong executive government, and a strong "church." Lippmann doesn't define the "church," but he says it must be co-equal with the state and must agree with the state on all major questions of domestic policy and foreign policy, including war and peace.

A NEW AFFIDAVIT: Lippmann's publishers make much of the "fine words" he speaks on civil liberties and the necessity for public debate. But Lippmann denies the right to freedom of "Communists" and "fascists," without saying who shall determine who are communists and fascists.

His inclusion of Marx and Engels as "Jacobins," and his general denunciation of Jacobinism on the other hand, give the impression that Jacobins, through a McCarthyite process of guilt association, must be Communists. It can hardly be doubted that when Lippmann's men of "light and leading" take over in co-responsibility with "the church," the non-communist affidavit will be replaced by a "non-Jacobin" affidavit.

Charles B. Forcy of Miami University (Ohio) in the **New Republic** of Feb. 21 says that the book is "a little less than incredible." He points out that Lippmann was a socialist when he left Harvard in 1910, remained a liberal while he was editor of the **New Republic**, tempered his liberalism when he became editor of the New York **World**, and became a denouncer of "New Deal collectivism" in 1937; but has always had a fear of democracy.

THE PROFFERED CUP: Lippmann appears now to be plumping for a dictatorship of "light and leading" under a strengthened Eisenhower and a more powerful Cardinal Spellman.

If men of "light and leading" swallow this cup of Lippmann poison, they may become more comfortable about their personal security for a while. But democracy in America will soon become something that only historians can deal with.

THE PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY by Walter Lippmann. Little Brown, Boston. 181 pp. $3.50.

*** The Jacobins, according to the Columbia Encyclopedia, were a society of radical democrats during the French Revolution who advocated universal manhood suffrage, separation of church and state and popular education, among other things.—Ed.**

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS—V

Uganda — and the prisoner of Oxford

By W. E. B. DuBois

UGANDA is the size of England and Scotland, with 5½ million black Africans, 34,000 East Indians and 3,000 Europeans. It is rich in minerals which Canadian and U.S. capital are exploiting. Trade and commerce are monopolized by Europeans and Indians, while 90% of the blacks are farmers raising cotton and coffee as cash crops. Their average income is $25 a year.

In November, 1953, His Highness Edward William Walugembe Mutesa II—29-year-old King of Buganda, the largest kingdom in Uganda, and 37th king of his dynasty—was seized in his native country, forced on a plane and flown to London by Lyttelton, British Colonial Secretary. The young king is a fellow-student at Oxford University of Lyttelton's son. He is held prisoner in England and denied his throne. His subjects are in revolt.

RELIGION WITH GUNS: What was his crime? It is a long story. Uganda is part of the great Kitwara empire, one of the best-organized African states in the Middle Ages. It declined with the Bantu migration southward and divided, leaving Uganda as its largest remnant. For 500 years Uganda lived as a settled, well-organized kingdom under a line of monarchs. Then it was attacked by religion: Arab Mohammedans from the south representing slave traders; English explorers from the east, reflecting the conquest of India and bringing Protestant missionaries; and finally Catholics from Austria and France.

The rugged pagan, Mutesa I, refused conversion; his son, Mwanga, tried to drive foreign religions out of his realm. When he killed an English bishop who insisted on entering Uganda, a war of religions began until a British commercial company sent in troops, encouraged by the government so as to keep out the Germans. Christians fought Mohammedans and then turned on each other until in 1899 the king was captured and exiled and Uganda became a British protectorate.

By forced treaty the King of Buganda was recognized by the British so long as he remained "loyal." He ruled with a legislature and ministers, but over him was a British governor who must consent to all legislation and who could make some laws all by himself. Uganda began to awake, to demand more democratic government. A Uganda National Congress appeared in 1951, demanding universal suffrage, a constituent assembly and free education for all Uganda.

EMBARRASSING ASPIRATIONS: About this time the Uganda Development Company was formed in England to mine copper in Uganda, with a capital of $18 million; also a smelting mill and textile works were planned with foreign capital; and the Colonial Secretary (this same Lyttelton) promised the whites of Kenya that federation of Uganda with neighboring African territories would insure white control of land and cheap black labor. To such schemes the London **Times** declared that the action of the Buganda legislature in demanding political control was a "great embarrassment." When the young king supported his legislature and demanded more effective government in the hands of Africans, he was judged disloyal, kidnapped and deposed.

Uganda flamed; the legislature refused to elect a new king and demanded the return of Mutesa II. Uganda was put under martial law. A Buganda delegation in London seeking the return of their king said in painfully plain English:

"Africans are not opposed to economic, industrial, commercial and political development. On the contrary, this is welcomed. But they would rather forego all the benefits of these developments if they bring in their wake political and economic domination by outsiders.

"The economic development of Central Africa is not to be bought by a federal constitution imposed on the African inhabitants. Therefore, while welcoming economic expansion in Uganda, Africans are anxious to ensure that the forces of expansion do not overwhelm the Africans so that they will wake up one day to find that they are dominated by powerful factors over which they have no control."

MUTESA II, KABAKA OF BUGANDA
While he lives, there will be no other

THE PEOPLE INSIST: The British are hesitating. In January of this year they ended the "state of emergency" in Uganda imposed in November, 1953, and allowed three suppressed papers to be published again. But they still hold Mutesa in England and the legislature still pledges "never to elect a new Kabaka while Mutesa still lives."

The Uganda National Congress has also presented a 20-page memorandum to the Royal Commission on East Africa. It points to the intense and growing national awareness of the peoples of Africa, exhorting the Commission to recognize the necessity of encouraging this development if progress is to be peaceful and stressing that no solutions, however economically sound, can succeed unless supported by the people.

The memorandum holds that political considerations preclude the success of economic solutions for East Africa as a whole, because the settler creed of "white leadership" conflicts with the "paramountcy of native interests" declared as British Colonial Policy in 1923 and cherished by the people of Uganda. It expresses the determination of the people to avoid development by foreign capitalists until Africans have a real share in controlling the government.

Padlock law in Quebec

ONE of the most important—and least-known in the U.S.—fights for basic liberties in America is the fight against the Padlock Law in Canada's Quebec province, led by the Montreal Civil Liberties Union. The law permits authorities to padlock without proof or even trial any place "used to propagate communism"; "communism" is not defined, but Premier Duplessis has said: "Any definition would prevent application of the law." Cabinet minister T. J. Coonan said it was meant to include "thousands and thousands of people who are Communists without being aware of it."

Since the law's passage in 1937, hundreds of homes have been raided and padlocked, thousands of books seized from them and burned.

The story of the law, documented charges that it has led to wholesale union-busting and attacks on political, religious and all other freedoms, and the key importance of defeating it are the subject-matter of a short, sharp, readable pamphlet by the MCLU's Paul Normandin. GUARDIAN readers can write for it, and send a helping buck, to MCLU, Box 52, Station "G," Montreal, Que.

Give a $1 sub today—fill out blank on p. 2

Peace Rally

GERMAN rearmament will be the principal topic of the American Labor Party's "Save the Peace" Rally in the 3,500-seat Manhattan Center, Tuesday, March 21, 7:45 p.m. Speakers will be Dr. Frederick Schuman of Williams College, a foremost spokesman against rearmament; Earl Dickerson, former president of the Natl. Lawyers' Guild; Russ Nixon, UE Legislative Director, former chief of the De-Nazification Section and director of the Division of Cartels and External Assets of the American Military Govt. in post-war Germany; Dr. Philip Morrison, noted atomic scientist, of Ithaca, N. Y.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL — Pigeon English

The Belfrage appeal

(Continued from Page 1)

1951, and that—as the Appeals Court noted in granting bail in 1953—voluminous statements Belfrage made to the FBI and a grand jury had been available "for more than seven years" without any action being taken to deport or prosecute him. "Yet," said the brief, "no buck private could have jumped more quickly to a general's command than the Immigration Service to McCarthy's" in arresting Belfrage the day after McCarthy ordered it. Even then,

". . . it took more than a year for the evidence to be warmed over sufficiently to be presented at a hearing. The decision, based on this evidence, finding Belfrage deportable, does not negate the wisdom displayed by the Government earlier in according to Belfrage the undisturbed enjoyment of residence. . . ."

The appeal was based on three major contentions of law: (1) That the nature and conduct of the Maltin hearing deprived Belfrage in many ways of due process of law; (2) That the government's contention that Belfrage was a Communist at the time of and after entry had not been established; (3) That Communist Party membership at any time had not been established "by reasonable, substantial and probative evidence."

WHAT THE BOSS WANTS: On the first point the defense said Maltin "was bound to decide adversely to Belfrage" since his relationship with Atty. Gen. Brownell is "the equivalent of that of employer-employee," and he owed "allegiance not to conscience alone, but most literally, to the hand that feeds." As for Brownell's desire in the matter, he had made his attitude toward "subversive aliens" clear

Wall Street Journal

"Where's the complaint department?"

in a speech delivered two months before Belfrage's arrest:

"It's a job worthy of a modern day St. Patrick to drive these snakes from our shores, but steady progress is being made, and we are determined to succeed."

The defense also contended, citing weighty precedents, that since the McCarran-Walter Act refers to "subversive" membership "at the time of" or "after entry"—not "any entry" or "an entry or entries"—the government could neither build its case on two different entries nor rely at all on past entries which "do not continue to remain 'entries' within the meaning of the statute to future time immemorial." All the testimony seeking to prove Belfrage a Communist related to the period after his first immigrant entry in 1937; his last immigrant entry—the only valid one in any deportation proceedings—was in 1945. In one case last year the court had held, in relation to defining "entry":

". . . The meaning of a term used in a statute cannot mean one thing for one situation and something else for a different situation, else the law would not have that reasonable certanty which the people have a right to expect."

BLOCKBUSTERS: On Maltin's decision that, assuming Belfrage was really a Communist in 1937-38, there was a "presumption of continuance" until his entry in 1945, the defense argued devastatingly that

". . . one must assume, rather than its continuance thereafter, its termination. . . . The newspapers are an annal of individuals who have left the Communist Party, whether by reason of disagreement in the light of current affairs, by fear, or by the hope of profit, such as the Government witness Berkeley or one Harvey Matusow."

Passing to the 630 pages of testimony presented before Maltin—all of it to show Belfrage's alleged CP membership in 1937-38—the defense ran analytical blockbusters through the holes in it and in Maltin's 15-page decision which took him two months to write.

SKATTEBOL "BEATIFIED": "The evidence," the brief showed,

". . . suffered from inexplicable internal contradictions, ineradicable marks of fabrication, and above all, the unhappy condition of being contradicted by other evidence. Analysis of this testimony shows cause for the precipitous beatification of Skattebol."

Skattebol was Belfrage's 1937-38 typist-babysitter who swore that after three weeks' acquaintance Belfrage told him he was a Communist and urged Skattebol to join the party. His testimony was highlighted by Maltin—after the virtual collapse of ex-Communist Martin Berkeley's testimony—as "uncontradicted . . . totally unimpeached in any way." Maltin in his decision completely ignored the contradictory testimony by Hollywood author-columnist Frank Scully.

On the testimony of FBI handwriting expert Mesnig, who at first merely testified without explanation that writing on a CP membership card was Belfrage's, the defense commented acidly that Mesnig was "apparently accustomed by his 17 years of prosecution testimony, to having his subjects become paralyzed with awe." In this case paralysis did not set in: Mesnig was recalled to explain himself, but his testimony was left high in the air by defense handwriting expert Elizabeth McCarthy, "a well-known expert of 19 years of varied and extensive experience in her field who offered a reasoned basis for her contrary conclusion."

THE MATUSOW ERA: Finally the defense, remarking that "Belfrage was invited to take the stand and testify more times than Monty Woolley has been invited to dinner," reminded the BIA that Belfrage had answered the same questions both to the FBI and to a grand jury in 1947. Maltin repeatedly drew adverse conclusions from Belfrage's not testifying, but it was pointed out that the Appeals Court in granting bail had held:

"His mere refusal to answer might perhaps have been motivated by a dislike of the resulting publicity or a fear that his answers, by misconstruction or otherwise, might result in an unfounded prosecution against him on some criminal charge . . . [or] from reluctance to implicate, or disturb the privacy of others."

The defense brief added:

"A McCarthy Committee, with a fanfare of publicity, was not deterred from raking up old charges and moldy red-herrings which neither the FBI nor a grand jury thought worthy of prosecution. The times had thrown up a Harvey Matusow, who would testify to anything, and a Berkeley and a Skattebol who, for diverse reasons, would apparently do likewise. The Un-American Committee transcript demonstrates a compulsive interest in linking invidiously to Belfrage names and more names, whether they be tea-companions or more startling associates, and no matter how innocent the relationship. Alternative inferences to be drawn from Belfrage's silence, suggested by the Court of Appeals, are not without reason. The hearing in this proceeding itself casts up another and most persuasive reason."

The BIA is expected to take a month or more to announce its decision. The defense is bound to exhaust all its administrative channels of recourse—of which this is the last—before taking the appeal to the courts.

'The Case of the Stubborn Editor'

EASTON, PA.

Today I received in the mail a copy of the pamphlet, "The Case of the Stubborn Editor." I read each chapter as it appeared in the GUARDIAN but getting it in its complete form is really fine.

I and members of my family have had our names in our local press as the result of a paid informer appearing before a committee in Washington. I have many acquaintances who are puzzled and confused about this whole situation and our refusal to publicly state our denial of all accusations. Merely saying that this is the position that an honorable person must take isn't enough, unfortunately.

Enclosed is my check for $1 for 12 copies of the pamphlet. For the first time we now have something we can hand to our puzzled friends to read as an explanation of the way things are. We plan to use it as widely as possible.

BILLY JANE ADAMSON

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GET THE FACTS YOURSELF — GIVE THEM TO YOUR FRIENDS! Send $1 for 12 copies. Get the inside story on Germany that McCarthy tried to suppress, too. Order your copy now of Cedric Belfrage's SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION, 256 pp. $1.50. Send check, money order or cash to PAMPHLETS, NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Oh, it's you. . . . Come on in. We're discussing controversial subjects."

Wake up screaming

A REGIME of nightmarish terror and emotional breakdown among government employes accused of being security risks was described last week at a meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Assn. in Chicago. According to the Chicago **Daily News**, a mental therapy team described cases in which "the accusations set off a chain of shattering events, including community ostracism, family strife, broken marriages and smashed careers. Many became withdrawn, hostile, panicky and psychotic to the point of needing hospitalization."

The psychologists predicted that as the program was extended to private industry there will be a "mental hygiene problem of national proportions." They said the problem was intensified because there was no statement of charges and the accusers were always hidden.

They cited scores of cases of known emotional breakdown and asked how many more there must be "who limp along in serious need of psychiatric help but are afraid to seek it for fear of losing their jobs (psychiatric treatment is cause for discharge)."

THE DILEMMA OF THE SHRINKING AMERICAN HOME MARKET

Will expanded East-West trade bolster U.S. economy?

ON A CONSTRUCTION JOB IN GDYNIA, POLISH PORT CITY
New industry has expanded the socialist world's internal markets

By Tabitha Petran

IN THE SHADOW of America's $7-billion mountain of food and fiber surpluses, Washington is developing a new interest in East-West trade. Its $1-billion, three-year program to dispose of a fraction of these surpluses abroad has already provoked anguished cries of "barefaced dumping" from U. S. allies.

Faced with what officials call "a nightmare of paradoxes" in the farm surplus disposal problem, Agriculture Secy. Benson recently launched a trial balloon suggesting sales to the U.S.S.R. (whose offer a year ago to buy some surpluses was turned down). Defense Secy. Wilson, Foreign Operations Administrator Stassen, the new Farm Bureau president, and the Citizens Conference for Intl. Economic Union (including Gerard Swope, Owen D. Young, former Undersecy. of State Clayton) gave quick support. The latter group urged "greater economic tolerance between East and West" and an end to the U. S. embargo except in key strategic goods.

SYMPTOM: This stirring of interest in trade with the socialist world comes after a year of expansion in such trade by U. S. allies, and is a symptom of the increasingly complicated problem of capitalist markets.

Official propaganda for ten years has held that the socialist-world market has no significance to the U. S. economy. At the other extreme is the view that trade with that market can postpone, if not avert, economic crisis in the U. S.

What is the significance of this new market to the U. S. and to the "free," i.e., capitalist world?

STRANGLED TRADE: After World War II, the all-embracing capitalist world market disintegrated and the socialist world market developed. The disintegration resulted partly from the crises in capitalist countries, partly from their attempt to strangle socialist economies. In spring, 1945, Washington calculated (as explained in the N. Y. **Sun,** 4/26 & 28, 5/14) that "Stalin must come to this country for equipment to put his badly battered industries back into production" and could be forced to pay the price of submitting to U. S. dictates. When that proved a miscalculation, Washington set up an economic blockade, later formalized in the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Battle Act, etc.

As a result, the share of the now socialist countries (U.S.S.R., China, E. Europe) in the exports of the chief capitalist powers dropped as follows:[1]

Most Favorable Pre-War Year			3 Yrs. 1951-53
U. S.	10.7%		.001%
Britain	11%		1.5%
France	9.4%		9%
Italy	21.5%		4%
Germany	28.3%	W. Germany	1.8%
Japan	26.4%*		4%

THE NEW FACTOR: These figures show graphically the breaking-down of world economic ties built up over decades. So does the growing tendency of capitalist trade to circulate inside isolated blocs and trade zones (European Payments Union, Benelux, Schuman Plan, Dollar and Sterling Areas), each protected by high barriers. Another index of the sickness of capitalist-world trade is that its volume (1953) on a per capita basis is still slightly below 1929, and not much above 1913.[2] And a substantial and increasing proportion of it is devoted to military goods.

But the socialist-world market has expanded steadily, because these countries' internal markets are developing as productivity is increased by industrialization. Furthermore, this internal development provides the basis for expanding their foreign trade. The U.S.S.R.'s foreign trade alone is four times pre-war in volume and has risen steadily from 18 billion rubles in 1951 to an annual rate of 30 billion in 1954's first half ($4.5 to $7.5 billion).

This expanding market of almost a billion people is something new in the world and has enormous implications for capitalist-world economomy:

• For industrially undeveloped countries

Over a period of time the socialist-world market can become decisive in achieving industrialization of undeveloped countries (expansion of their internal markets). Here they can sell their raw materials at guaranteed prices, escaping from the economic royalists' price manipulations which keep them economically enslaved. Here they can buy capital goods on easy credit terms.

In 1954 the U.S.S.R. offered capital aid (steel, cement, sugar, oil plants, etc.) to Finland, Iceland, Indonesia, Afghanistan and India, and technical, engineering and scientific aid to some 16 countries, mostly in Asia. Last month's Czech offer of a steel mill to India, China's technical aid program in N. Korea and N. Vietnam, the U.S.S.R.'s huge aid program in China further suggest how undeveloped countries can in time be helped by socialist countries to escape from the tribute system enforced by advanced capitalist powers.

• For "trading countries"

For a Britain, a Japan, a W. Germany, the new world market can become very important since their exports amount to 25% or more of their total production. Furthermore, their traditional economic ties were with the now socialist world: intra-European commerce accounted for roughly 2/3 of Europe's entire foreign trade; China was one of Japan's chief markets. Their traditional exports—roughly 3/4 manufactured goods—are needed by industrializing socialist countries. The periodic "dollar gaps" which have plagued these trading countries since the war are the result of tearing up these traditional ties and tying their economies to the "cold war."

Trade between the West and the socialist world began to rise in 1954: preliminary figures (N. Y. **Times,** 3/7) indicate a 21% rise in the West's exports there and a 3% rise in imports. Such trade of major "trading countries" went up in the first 9-11 months anywhere from roughly 6% to 80%. But this trade remains at but 1 to 4% of their total trade, and in most cases is still below the 1948 level.[3] It is still too early for the effects of the partial relaxation of the U. S.-imposed embargo in mid-1954 to show up in trade figures; but it will surely spur a further increase. This developing East-West trade, small as it is, is building up a basis for larger-scale expansion as the capitalist-world economic crisis matures. For "trading countries" any substantial expansion of trade will have a favorable effect on their economies as a whole.

• For the U. S.

For the U. S. the picture is somewhat different since its commercial exports represent only about 3.5% of total production (in the peak year 1947, 6.6%). In 1954 exports and imports together accounted for only 6.4% of total production,[4] as compared to roughly 64% for personal consumer expenditures, 13% for business investment, 12.2% for government "national security" purchases,[5] etc.

The place of exports in the economy is also shown by the fact that they represent 7 to 9% of total production of movable goods, give employment to 3 million workers;[6] 1.2 million are employed in processing and distributing imports.[7]

Export trade is crucial for some agricultural commodities. More than 1/3 of U. S. cotton, wheat, flour, rice, sorghum enter into international trade. And a third of U. S. exports originate with producers relying on foreign markets for more than 25% of their sales. One-half come from industries which sell more than 10% of their output abroad—including machine tools, agricultural, textile, construction machinery, tractors and trucks.[6]

NO BASIS FOR BOOM: Common sense would suggest, therefore, that while expanding exports are essential to a healthy economy, and vital in some fields, they cannot perform economic miracles such as averting or—at this time—postponing economic crisis in the U. S.

The view that increased exports can bring many years of prosperity is an illusion. For while there is always a tremendous potential because the world's peoples lack so many things they need, there is a realistic potential only when there is an expanding internal market in the countries needing goods.

There is such a market in the socialist world. But expansion of trade with that market cannot be achieved overnight even in the best of circumstances. Trade is an expression of economic relations, an international division of labor, built up over years and decades. Disruption of such traditional relations by war and "cold" war, the new international division of labor developing as socialist countries industrialize—these involve building of new trade channels, which takes time.

OUR UNPRODUCTIVE HOST: For the U. S. today this issue is two-fold:

1. The tremendous expansion of trade required to counter-balance the shrinking internal market that will come with a depression. Today 1/5 of the U. S. labor force—13,035,000 workers—are either unemployed, on active duty in the armed forces, or engaged in war work. At the depth of the depression in 1933, the number in these three categories came to 13,374,000—26% of the then smaller labor force.[8] Thus today—even without a depression—almost as big a percentage of the labor force is unproductive—in the sense of not producing or distributing goods people need—as in the worst year of the great depression. Something like a four-fold expansion of exports would be required to give even these 13 million productive work.

2. Any substantial expansion of trade takes time. A four-fold expansion is more than substantial, it is almost revolutionary. Social situations may arise in the future when such large-scale expansion is practical, but even then it would take time. There is no realistic prospect today for an expansion big enough to offset the counter-forces making for a depression before the latter can take effect. The economic crisis of the capitalist world is maturing now.

HOME MARKET MUST GROW: Expansion of East-West trade is a key plank in a program for peace and for developing better economic opportunities in this country; but it cannot be turned on like a tap, its flow immediately expanded, to solve the problems of U. S. monopoly capitalism. Its substantial expansion involves problems of planning and programming in the U. S. economy, and is possible only as the U. S.'s internal market is developed.

For Americans the issue is to solve this problem of expanding that market. In fact, socialist-world goods will enter increasingly into capitalist-world markets and thereby intensify competition—unless the internal markets of the capitalist countries are expanded.

1 Direction of Intl. Trade, Annual issue, Vol. V, No. 8, League of Nations Review of World Trade 1934, 1937-8.
2 League of Nations, Review of World Trade, 1937; UN Statistical Yearbook 1954.
3 Direction of Intl. Trade, Feb., 1955.
4 Foreign Commerce Weekly, Feb. 14, 1955.
5 President's Economic Report, Jan., 1955.
6 Foreign Commerce Weekly, June 28, 1954.
7 Randall Report, Staff Papers.
8 Labor Research Assn. Economic Notes, Feb., 1955.

LETTERS TO BROWNELL URGED

Claudia Jones' lawyer says her life is in danger unless illness is treated

FOR two of the 12 Communist Party leaders convicted in New York in Jan., 1953, of "advocating violent overthrow," the sentence might be very much more than the prison terms which they began serving two months ago. Last week Mrs. Rebecca Mindel pointed out in a letter to the GUARDIAN that the two-year term of her husband Jacob, 74 and suffering from serious heart and digestive ailments, might prove fatal to him. The Committee for Protection of Negro Leadership (1660 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.) was asking for intercession in behalf of CP Women's Commission secy. Claudia Jones, 38, whose heart condition is also described by physicians as serious. Miss Jones, born in Trinidad, B. W. I., came to the U. S. at the age of nine.

While the sentences of the 12 were being appealed, Miss Jones was being treated—as she had been for years—for this condition which required minimum physical exertion and a prescribed salt-free diet. Sent on Jan. 11 to serve her one-year sentence in the jimcrow Women's Federal Reformatory, Alderson, W. Va., she was set to scrubbing floors. On Jan. 31 her attorney, Mary Kaufman, gave the sentencing Judge Dimock Miss Jones' full medical history and said her "days were numbered" unless her condition was properly treated in prison. The judge postponed decision pending a report from the prison authorities; later he instructed the U. S. Attorney to have a court-appointed doctor examine Miss Jones.

DOUBLE ORDEAL: At last reports this had still not been done. Meanwhile Miss Jones reported from the prison that she is still denied a salt-free diet; her condition has been worsened by eating raw carrots and spinach, the only vegetables available; possibly due to scrubbing floors, her ankles are swollen—a condition connected in the past with strain on her heart; she does not know what medication she is getting for her heart, if any, and her blood-pressure is increased.

The Negro Leadership Committee requested letters to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Justice Dept., Washington, D. C., urging him not to oppose the motion now before Dimock for suspension of Miss Jones' sentence.

CLAUDIA JONES
How much can a heart stand?

America-the-beautiful depf.

LAS VEGAS, Nev., Feb. 22, AP—Dancer Lili St. Cyr, 32, and actor Ted Jordan honeymooned today after celebrating their nuptials by cutting a mushroom-cloud wedding cake. The cake was inscribed: "Happy Wedding to the Anatomic Bomb, Lili St. Cyr." It was the dancer's fifth wedding venture and the third for Jordan. . . .

—N. Y. Daily News, Feb. 23.

Little-known aspects of the red menace

ATLANTIS CITY—GIs serving overseas are exposed to "appalling" immoral practises—dope pushing, prostitution and "shacking-up," the Natl. Lutheran Council has been told. . . . The Rev. Dr. Carl F. Yaeger . . . said military authorities were convinced the Communists were back of the demoralization of our overseas personnel.

—N. Y. Post, Feb. 3.

There is the cult of sexual virtue; prostitution was abolished, almost overnight, by a clean-up operation of such Draconian severity that one or two party deviationists have not forgotten it yet. . . . "Love" is now encouraged, in the sense of bringing together two souls "integrated in a common political ideal," but any serious romantic attachment outside the marriage bed is worth a police charge and a six months' jail sentence for the over-zealous young man, to teach him to keep his mind on his Marx.

All this would seem to give life in Peiping an inhibited, not to say somber quality. Strangely, that is not the case.

—N. Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 9.

"Not Legion material"

Manning Johnson, ex-Communist and paid informer for the Dept. of Justice, is too much for the American Legion. Expelled from the Jesse Palmer Post in Harlem after giving derogatory testimony against Dr. Ralph Bunche, assistant UN Secy.-General, Johnson applied for membership in the Legion's predominantly white Theodore Roosevelt Post. His old buddies protested vigorously, said among other things:

"Certainly an individual who attempts to destroy what Dr. Bunche has so successfully built up is not Legion material."

The Justice Dept. is reported currently investigating Johnson's testimony against Dr. Bunche.

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PUBLICATIONS

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Cedric Belfrage, editor of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, says:
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REV. WILLIAM F. BAIRD, of Chicago, says:
As a subscriber to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST for the past few months, it is a privilege to be able to recommend it. In my opinion there has never been a time in the history of this land when it was so necessary for a fearless voice to be raised that unqualifiedly endorses socialism.

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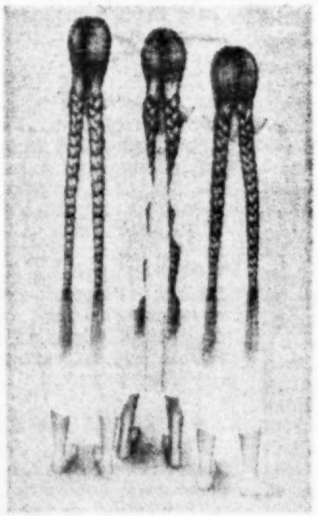

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Defense of liars

(Continued from Page 3)

of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit on Matusow's testimony. The government was represented last week by five attorneys, three of them from Washington. Matusow's performance this time was on the dull side; the El Paso **Herald-Post** reported:

> "Defense attorney Harry L. Bigbee of Santa Fe went over Matusow's damaging 1954 testimony paragraph by paragraph. Matusow's answers came with the monotony of a metronome:
>
> "'False. False. False. That part is partially false. False. False. . . .'"

Matusow will face a grand jury in El Paso when he finishes his stint in the court action which is based on a motion for a new trial.

GRILLED PUBLISHER: Meanwhile publisher Kahn was being grilled by the Internal Security Subcommittee in Washington. At one point Sen. Daniel shouted:

> "Before the hearings are over . . . people are going to know he [Matusow] is lying today while under the sponsorship of you and others. . . ."

Kahn invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to all questions concerning affiliations or belief, but said:

> "I do not decline to answer this question with any shame whatsoever. I do so proudly. He who attacks me for using the Fifth Amendment does not slander me but slanders the Constitution of the U.S."

PRECAUTIONS: Kahn charged in the open session that the committee had been "appallingly negligent" in ever using Matusow as a witness; committee counsel J. G. Sourwine, he said, in earlier executive sessions had "showed no interest in matters directly relating" to Matusow but was concerned mainly with "our private business affairs, political beliefs, personal associations and so forth." In a later press release Kahn said Sourwine should be disqualified from further participation in the proceedings. But to Sen. Daniel, Cameron & Kahn had been "appallingly negligent and remiss" in publishing the Matusow book.

CLINTON JENCKS
Harvey told a whopper

Questioned about Matusow's constant companion, author and playwright Herb Tank (**Longtitude 49**), Kahn said he had asked Tank to watch Matusow because of fear that he might be kidnapped or killed. Kahn reminded the Senators that in the 1920's the FBI had kidnapped a key witness in the Sacco-Vanzetti case and held him incommunicado for eight weeks before he was found dead from a plunge from the FBI's 14th-floor headquarters.

To a suggestion that the Matusow book was published for gain, Kahn said:

> "We have aims other than just the making of profits. These must be the aims of all decent publishers—to circulate as widely as possible among the people what the publishers believe to be the truth."

COHN ON STAND: In New York City proceedings continued before Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock on a motion for a new trial for 13 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, against whom Matusow has sworn he gave false testimony. Roy Cohn, who as an asst. U. S. attorney prepared the Matusow testimony at the trial, insisted on the witness stand that "there never was any doubt about his [Matusow's] credibility. I believe he told the truth."

Matusow has charged that Cohn coached him in fabricating testimony. During cross-examination of Cohn defense attorney Harry Sacher said:

> "I am not persuaded that the witness is telling the truth."

Robert Reagan, another asst. U.S. attorney in the trial of the Communists, admitted he had had some doubt of the truth of Matusow's testimony. Reagan testified that at one point in the development of Matusow's story, he took him to his superior in the case. Sacher asked:

> "Had you been convinced he was telling the truth you would not have gone to your superior, isn't that so?"

Reagan replied: "That is the inference you can draw from it."

A NEW WHIP? For Atty. Gen. Brownell, the case of the recanting informers seemed an excellent excuse to press again for his proposal to "simplify" the law governing perjury. Under the present law the government must show not merely that a witness has wilfully given contradictory statements, but must prove which of the two is false with the aid of two independent witnesses or one independent witness plus corroborative documents.

Brownell would eliminate this "ridiculous requirement" and permit prosecution on simple presentation of contradictory statements, without any need to prove the truth or falsity of either. With this whip he could be more reasonably certain of keeping his informers in line.

•

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Intruders in stuffy rooms

A short parable told by British Quaker Reginald Reynolds in expectation of reactions to his critical survey of Africa, Cairo to Cape Town (Doubleday, $5).

A certain man, coming into a room where a number of people had been sitting for some hours, remarked that the room was stuffy.

The people sitting there were very annoyed at this remark. "How can you presume to judge," asked one man, "when you have only this minute come in?"

Another said: "It is always these people from outside who make this ill-informed criticism. Only those who have sat here for hours can possibly know whether the air is fresh or foul."

"It is just to keep out ignorant critics like you," said a third, "that we keep all the doors and windows shut."

So they threw the intruder out and and bolted the door.

Dulles' blackmail

(Continued from Page 1)

springboard.")

WILL AMERICANS RESIST? A few hours before Dulles spoke, British Foreign Secy. Eden before Commons asked evacuation of the offshore islands, hinted at a UN seat for China if it renounced force to regain Formosa. But since the end of the Geneva Conference, Britain has veered to support of the U.S. seizure of Formosa. If—as authoritatively reported—this shift was made in exchange for a promised evacuation of the offshore islands and U.S. consent to a settlement including China's admission to UN, Washington has yet to deliver.

Marquis Childs noted in the N.Y. **Post** (3/3) that, in the weeks that followed Congress' resolution authorizing preventive war against China, the only official voices heard have been from the Knowland "stand and fight" forces. **Yet mail to the White House and Capitol Hill at the time of the war resolution was overwhelmingly anti-war. The American people must make their voices heard again.**

CALENDAR

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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM presents "The Fight Against Segregation—The Meaning of the Supreme Court Decision." Speaker: Ernest Drake. Fri., Mar. 18, 8 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Donation: 50c.

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RECEPTION to meet ABNER GREEN, Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. Ernie Lieberman entertains. Sons of Norway Hall, 14312 Friar, Van Nuys. Refreshments. Adm. 50c. Valley Friends of Victims of Walter-McCarran Act.

Detroit

LEO HUBERMAN, co-editor of the MONTHLY REVIEW magazine, noted writer and educator in labor movement, speaks in Detroit, Thurs., March 24, "Affecting the Current Scene," a discussion; Fri., March 25, "Behind the Labor Scene," a talk—both at 8 p.m. at Co-Operative Community Center, 3737 Woodward. Sponsor: "Review of Month" a socialist forum.

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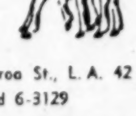

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Well the news is Jenny's coming to town. She will be singing a whole program for "Latin America Today" on Fri. evening, Mar. 18, at the Hotel Woodstock in Manhattan. So I thought I would let the Guardian readers within 500 miles of New York know about this event. It's something very special that doesn't happen often. See you there.

Earl Robinson

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"LA BELLE EQUIPE"** (They Were Five), March 11-13. Duvivier's compassionate but ironic comment on private enterprise, as engaged in by five unemployed workers on the proceeds of a winning lottery ticket. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"DIEU A BESOIN DES HOMMES"** (God Needs Men).

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Reception and Entertainment in honor of **WM. L. PATTERSON**, general secy. of C.R.C. on Tues., March 15, 8:30 p.m. at 683 Allerton Av. (Bronx). Earl Robinson will entertain. Ausp: Bronx Committee for Freedom of Political Prisoners.

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East Bronx ALP Club, Sat., March 12, 8 p.m., at 862 E. Tremont Av. (1 flight up). Delicious food FREE. Donation: $1.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

Guardian Theater Night. **"ONCE OVER LIGHTLY,"** by IRA WALLACH, RONNIE GRAHAM & MEL BROOKS. Music by ALEC TEMPLETON with **SONO OSATO, JACK GILFORD & ZERO MOSTEL.** Thurs., March 31. Orch. $6.50. Mezz. $5. Call or write: 17 Murray St. WO 4-3960.

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SUNDAY FORUM, March 13, 8 p.m. Walt Whitman, Poet of American Democracy. In commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of "Leaves of Grass," with Meridel LeSueur & Samuel Sillen. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

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TIGER, TIGER, BURNING BRIGHT

Tammany reforms itself with gaping loopholes

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

TAMMANY leader and N.Y. Secy. of State De Sapio's newest "new look" announcement is that N.Y. County Democratic Committee rules will be changed to provide for direct election of assembly district leaders by enrolled Democrats in primary elections At present, enrolled voters elect county committeemen for each election district who then choose the assembly leader.

But the tiger's stripes show through wide holes in Tammany's robes of civic virtue.

Though the State Crime Commission urgently called for direct election of district leaders back in 1953, De Sapio did nothing then. Even if the new method is adopted, a person so elected could still be refused recognition and denied a seat on the powerful Tammany committee. De Sapio himself got this treatment for four years from 1939 to 1943. If this trick fails, Tammany has another in reserve—to split the leadership among several contenders and then to recognize one of these as leader for the entire assembly district.

IGNORED BILLS: De Sapio carefully omitted from his announcement any specific pledge to end these practices, which could make a mockery of so-called direct election of district leaders. He has shied away from legislation which would make direct election of leaders mandatory uniformly throughout the city. At present, only Brooklyn provides (by party rules) for direct election. Even assuming that Tammany changes its rules for N.Y. County, what about Bronx, Queens and Richmond? Why does De Sapio ignore pending bills to effect the change he claims to desire? Could it be because party rules can be changed and changed back again easily whereas a law once enacted might be more difficult to erase?

Meanwhile, De Sapio is silent on the Wilson-Pakula law and the Travia law. Openly aimed at the late Cong. Vito Marcantonio, the Wilson-Pakula law prevents enrolled voters from nominating in the primaries candidates not enrolled in their parties, without permission from party bosses.

GRIST IN THE HOPPER: The Travia law requires that a person circulating primary petitions must live in the assembly district in which he is obtaining signatures, and be enrolled in the party whose petition he is circulating. Before this law, any qualified voter could circulate any party's petition anywhere in the state. This made possible a concentration of effort in particular districts by independent-minded voters to defeat entrenched political machines. The Travia law blocks such efforts.

Several pending bills on election include:

- Proposed constitutional amendments to permit absentee voting and registration by those unable to appear personally because of illness, or because their duties require them to be outside the state.
- An extension from 11 to 17 weeks of the period for circulating primary petitions. This would enable collection of signatures in spring, instead of limiting it to summer months when many voters are out of the city.
- A provision that independent nominating petitions for statewide public office must have at least 50 signatures from only ½ of the counties in the state. At present, the signatures must be obtained in every single county. By lessening the present unreasonable requirement, this measure encourages independent political action.

MEETING MAR. 18

Eye-witness in Guatemala

AN EYE-WITNESS account by a Guatemalan of how terror came to his country after it was invaded, will be read for the first time at the fourth anniversary celebration of **Latin America Today** at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 W. 43d St., Friday evening, March 18.

The story was put on tape as soon as the refugee reached freedom and sent along with an urgent message for the people of the U.S. to **Latin America Today**. It will be read by Elliot Sullivan, screen and stage actor and producer of **The Troublemakers.**

Also on the program will be Jenny Wells Vincent, who will sing folk songs of Mexico and the Southwest; Betty Millard, editor of **Latin America Today**, just returned from a tour across the U.S. and Mexico; the Inter-American Folklore Group and Puerto Rican poet J. Davila Semprit. The GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal is chairman. Admission: $1.

•

Give an introductory sub to the Guardian.

NEW YORK

Wholesale rent rises are in prospect if phony GOP plan passes Legislature

By Elmer Bendiner

NOT another 15% rent boost but a whole spiral of rent rises threatens every New York tenant. The dynamite that may blow the lid off is deceptively cached in a bill to "extend rent controls" past the present deadline June 30.

In the last election campaign both major parties denied any intention to lift controls. Last Jan. 12 Republican Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck said that even if controls were lifted in some upstate areas, N. Y. City would be safe: "As far as the Republicans are concerned, we don't want to increase any . . . hardship in the city."

GIANT-SIZE HOLES: Last week GOP legislators had their strategy worked out to keep controls on the statute books while filling them with holes big enough for landlords to drive a series of rent hikes through. The measures would:

- Turn the question of control or no control over to cities upstate.
- Lift all controls from owner-occupied two-family houses on July 1, 1956.
- Allow landlords to boost rents in order to pay for increased operating expenses.

The first proposal would lift controls by turning them over to local politicians under pressure from real estate lobbies. The second would mean prompt rent boosts for 100,000 in the city and its suburbs and 70,000 upstate. The system has been tried in Schenectady, Jamestown, Syracuse, Utica and Poughkeepsie. State Rent Administrator Charles Abrams estimated the resultant rent boost there from 47-71%. In Schenectady, 29% of the boosts were more than 100% and one out of every 13 topped 200%.

UNENDING SPIRAL: Present rent-control legislation lifts controls on apartments in landlord-occupied two-family houses as the rented apartment becomes vacant. Such landlords have been engaged in a running warfare trying to force present tenants out. The proposed legislation would end the war by putting the present tenant at the landlord's mercy at once.

The most devastating blow is the proposal to pass on all increased operating expenses to the tenant. If maintenance workers win a pay raise, it will come out of the tenant's rent; if the price of coal goes up the tenant will be stuck with it.

The spiral only begins there. Present laws guarantee the landlord a 6% return on the property's sale value plus 2% for depreciation (even on property that does not deteriorate). As rents rise—on the pretext, for example, of increased fuel or labor costs—the value of the property is boosted. The landlord is therefore entitled to a bigger return and raises rents accordingly. That in turn raises the value, and so on with the ceiling unlimited.

LOUD PROTESTS: The GOP strategy provoked angry outbursts. The **World-Telegram** ran a series exposing the measures which brought from Clinton W. Blume, president of the Real Estate Board of N.Y., the charge that the paper was arousing "class warfare." Tenants' groups planned lobbies; Americans for Democratic Action urged the Governor to take the fight to the people by radio and television.

Morris Goldin, exec. secy. of the American Labor Party, wired Senate Majority Leader Walter J. Mahoney and Assembly Majority Leader Joseph F. Carlino: "The callous disregard of the people's welfare by the Republican big-wigs is glaringly evident by their complete surrender to the Real Estate Lobby's demands." Goldin urged Gov. Harriman to veto the "mockery of rent control," call a special session of the Legislature and keep the legislators in Albany until a genuine rent-control bill is passed. The ALP urged all New Yorkers to send similar messages to Albany.

Harriman spoke out against the proposals, expressed "grave concern" but pointedly refrained from any threat to use his veto. He said he hoped for "public pressure" and a Republican change of heart.

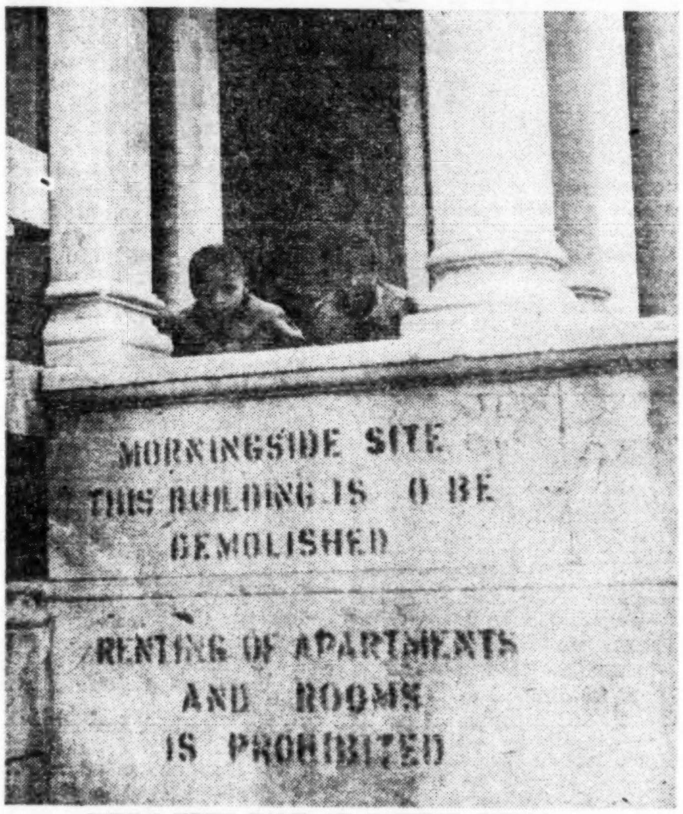
GOP IS WORRIED: The most surprising opposition came from city Republicans. Thomas J. Curran, N. Y. County GOP leader, called the new bill "indefensible," said the seven GOP legislators from the city would vote against it. He predicted that passage of the legislation would cut the Republican vote in the city "tremendously" and said the 15% rent boost in 1953 had "raised havoc" among the poorer voters and accounted for "apathy" on Park Av. The city Republicans were plainly trying to duck the blame if the new legislation is passed, but there seemed to be another strategy involved in which the real estate lobby could hedge its losses even if the bill is defeated or modified.

Also pending before the Legislature is a proposal allowing the city to raise real estate taxes ¼ of 1%. The measure goes one inch along the way toward raising revenue from sources best able to pay, even though the proposal unfairly lumps all property owners in one group from the little single-family suburban house to the Waldorf-Astoria.

BLOCK-LEVEL BATTLE: Tenant opposition can be mustered to the boosted real estate tax since, it is argued, such taxes will lead to higher rents.

State Rent Administrator Charles Abrams has proposed that any rent increases be computed on valuations as of July 1, 1954, to block the spiral.

While the battle lines were shaping up in Albany, some landlords jumped the gun and pressed for rent boosts as of now. They met resistance on the block level. In one Manhattan neighborhood tenants staged a counter-offensive that could serve as a model. Presented with a request for a rent rise, the block organized itself, tallied the long-standing violations in each apartment and filed a formal request with the Rent Commission for a rent decrease.



WHILE THEY TALK OF RAISING RENTS . . .
Other houses in the city are coming down to make way for more high-priced apartments which the evicted tenants can't afford. The Legislature might chew that one over first.

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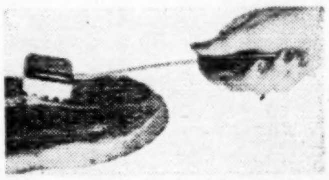

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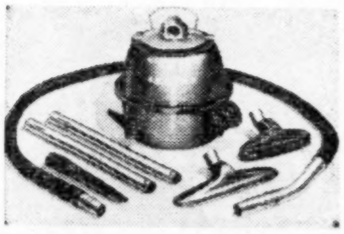

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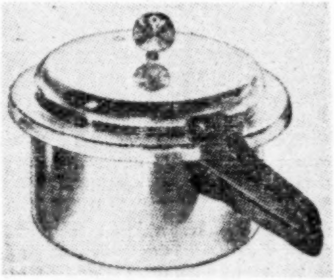

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the SPECTATOR

Write 'em, print 'em, sell' em

IN 1947 HENRY KRAUS, former editor of the CIO **United Automobile Worker**, wrote **The Many and the Few**, a book about the 1937 auto strike. He and his wife Dorothy, tiring of shopping for a publisher, succeeded in scraping together enough money to pay a printer. They sold 10,000 copies. In 1951 Kraus wrote a book about a San Pedro, Calif., interracial housing project and called it **In the City Was a Garden**. He and Mrs. Kraus marketed that one too.

Some authors with unpublished manuscripts asked the Krauses how to go about printing and distributing books. That was how, early in 1953, the Krauses became the nucleus of a group which organized itself as Associated Authors. Its first meetings discussed the fact that there always have been and probably always will be unpublished books which—fortunately for the people—will remain unpublished; that there would continue for too long to be manuscripts which ought both to be printed and widely distributed but are not; that many books hurtful to the people's interests were easily published and distributed; that the reasons why others ought to be published and widely read were also the reasons which kept them unpublished and unread.

HOW THEY DID IT: Not too boldly—being uncertain whether they had resolved anything—AA members decided each to inquire of author friends whether they had manuscripts knocking around. Forty were asked, 30 replied, 20 said they had book MSS. A few, on the verge of giving up, were still trying to find commercial publishers. AA was interested in helping worthwhile books which otherwise wouldn't be published, so it encouraged these writers to continue their search. Authors who **had** given up were asked to send their MSS for study. AA received about a dozen; half were of considerable merit. Three of exceptional quality were set aside with top priority for publication.

AA members assembled 3,000 names of friends and friends of friends, made up a small fund from their own pockets and a few gifts and, with volunteer assistance from topnotch professionals, got up a brochure. In swapping experiences the members decided that a mailing directly from a friend was most effective. The brochure had space for a hand-written personal message.

SURPRISING RESPONSE: The brochure told the receiver that if he purchased before publication he could get a $3.50 book for $2.50 or three for $6. It was emphasized that the buyer was participating directly in publishing a worthwhile book which would otherwise fail to emerge from manuscript.

It was hoped that the response would top the normal 1½ to 3% rate. The 3,000 mailings brought approximately a 25% response and 750 orders. About 2,000 additional pieces were mailed from lists sent by recipients of the brochure. The authors of the three priority books—Bernard Mandel, Gerda Lerner and Estolv Ward—meanwhile were developing themselves into speakers around whom small literary circles were springing up. Each meeting brought in additional orders. The final result was that Dr. Mandel's **Labor: Free and Slave** (subtitled, "Working Men and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States") and Mrs. Lerner's novel of young love in Austria, 1934-38, **No Farewell**, obtained enough money to finance publication. Ward's **The Piecard**, a novel about a labor faker, requires a greater budget, since it is twice as long. All technical work on the two books, done by experts, was volunteered, thus saving hundreds of dollars.

A PARTIAL SOLUTION: **Labor: Slave and Free** will be issued by Associated Authors (P. O. Box 274, Cooper Sta., N. Y. C. 3) on March 15. It is the kind of book on a vital subject which seldom gets a chance except through a subsidized publisher connected with a university. **No Farewell** will be out in May.

AA believes it has found a partial solution through cooperative use of mailing lists. Since 5,000 mailings brought 1,250 orders for the three books, 15,000 mailings—as a result of expanded organizations and method—would seem to promise enough orders to publish all three at once.

Eugene Gordon

A shocking lynch story

A DISTINGUISHED addition to the world literature of protest against legalized murder is made by historian Herbert Aptheker in the February (Negro History Week) issue of **Masses & Mainstream**. It is the first detailed account of the frame-up and drawn-out martyrdom of three young Negro soldiers, two of whom were hanged a year ago for the alleged murder of a white woman in Guam in 1948. It cannot but shock all who read it into a sober re-evaluation of official racism in Washington and the U.S. Army, the corruption it is used to conceal, and the "new-style" lynching to which it inevitably leads. The facts showing that Robert W. Burns and Herman P. Dennis Jr. were innocent, that they were tortured to extract confessions, and that they were lynched by the U. S. Army, are set forth with terrifying clarity. The third victim, Calvin Dennis, who "confessed" but later repudiated it, remains alive on America's conscience under sentence of lifetime imprisonment.

GUARDIAN readers should not fail to acquaint themselves with this movingly-written document of our times. In the same issue of **Masses & Mainstream** (832 Broadway, N. Y. C. 3; 35c, $4 a year) appears a chapter of the epic novel on which Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has been working for some years.